

34/  
HIS  
HIGHNESSE  
THE  
LORD PROTECTOR'S  
SPEECH  
TO THE  
Parliament  
IN THE  
PAINTED CHAMBER,  
On Tuesday the 12<sup>th</sup> of Septem-  
ber. 1654.

---

*Taken by one who stood very near him,  
and Published to prevent mistakes.*

---

LONDON,  
Printed by T. R. and E. M. for G. Sawbridge  
at the Bible on Ludgate-hill. 1654.



(I)



HIS  
Highnesse  
THE  
LORD PROTECTORS  
SPEECH  
TO THE  
PARLIAMENT  
IN THE  
*Painted Chamber, on Tuesday, the 12<sup>th</sup>  
of September. 1654.*

*Gentlemen,*



T is not long since I met you in this place, upon an occasion which gave me much more content, and comfort then this doth.

That which I have to say to you now, will

(2)

need no Preamble to let me in to my Discourse: For the occasion of this Meeting is plain enough. I could have wished with all my heart there had been no cause for it.

At that Meeting I did acquaint you what the first Rise was of this Government which hath call'd you hither; and in the Authority of which you came hither.

Among other things that I told you of then, I said you were a free Parliament. And so you are whilst you own the Government, and Authority that call'd you hither. For certainly that word implied a *Reciprocation*, or it implied nothing at all.

Indeed there was a *Reciprocation* implied, and expressed: and I think your actions, and carriages ought to be suitable.

But I see it will be necessary for me now, a little to magnifie my Office; which I have not been apt to do. I have been of this minde, I have been alwayes of this minde, since first I entered upon it, That if God will not beare it up, let it sink. But if a Duty be incumbent upon me, to beare my Testimony unto it, (which in modesty I have  
been  
A  
hither-



(3)

hitherto forborn) I am in some measure now necessitated thereunto. And therefore that will be the Prologue to my Discourse.

I call'd not my self to this place; I say again, I call'd not my selfe to this place; of that God is Witnesse. And I have many Witnesses; who I do beleewe could readily lay down their lives to beare Witnesse to the truth of that: that is to say, That I call'd not my self to this place. And being in it, I beare not witnesse to my self. But God and the people of these Nations have borne Testimony to it also.

If my calling be from God, and my Testimony from the People; God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. I should be false to the Trust that God hath plac'd upon me, and to the Interest of the People of these Nations, if I should.

That I call'd not my self to this place, is my first Assertion.

That I beare not witnesse to my self, but have many Witnesses, is my second.

These

These are the two things I shall take the liberty to speak more fully to you of.

To make plain and clear that which I have said, I must take liberty to look back.

I was by birth a Gentleman, living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity: I have been call'd to several employments in the Nation: To serve in Parliaments: And (because I would not be over tedious) I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man in those services, to God, and his peoples interest, and of the Common-Wealth; having, when time was, a competent acceptance in the hearts of men, and some evidences thereof. I resolve not to recite the Times, and Occasions, and Opportunities that have been appointed me by God to serve him in: nor the presence and blessings of God bearing then Testimony to me.

I having had some occasions to see (together with my Brethren and Countrey-men) a happy period put to our sharp Warres, and Contests with the then common enemy, hoped, in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit,

fruit, and benefit together with my Brethren, of our hard labours and hazards : to wit, the enjoyment of Peace and Liberty, and the Priviledges of a Christian, and of a man, in some equality with others, according as it should please the Lord to dispence unto me.

And when, I say, God had put an end to our Wars, at least brought them to a very hopeful issue, very near an end, (after *Worcester Fight*) I came up to *London* to pay my service, and duty to the Parliament that then sate; and hoping that all mindes would have been disposed to answer that which seemed to be the minde of God, (*viz*) to give Peace and Rest to his People : and especially to those who had bled more then others in the carrying on of the military *Affaires*, I was much disappointed of my expectation: For the issue did not prove so; what ever may be boasted, or mis-represented, it was not so, nor so.

I can say in the simplicity of my soul, I love not, I love not, (I declined it in my former speech) I say, I love not to rake in-



to fores, or to discover nakednesses. That which I drive at, is this; I say to you, I hoped to have had leave to have retired to a private life : I begg'd to be dismissed of my Charge : I begg'd it again and again. And God be Judge between me and all men, if I lie in this matter. That I lie not in matter of fact, is known to very many; but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as labouring to represent to you that which was not upon my heart, I say, the Lord be Judge : let uncharitable men that measure others by themselves, judge as they please. As to the matter of fact, I say it is true. As to the ingenuity and integrity of my heart in that desire, I do appeale, as before, upon the truth of that also. But I could not obtaine what my soul longed for. And the plain truth is, I did afterwards apprehend, That some did think (my judgement not suiting with theirs ) that it could not well be. But this I say to you, was, between God and my soul ; between me and that Assembly.

I confesse I am in some strait, to say what I could say; and what is true of what then followed.



(7)

I pressed the Parliament, as a Member, to period themselves, once, and again, and again, and ten, and twenty times over. *I* told them (for I knew it better then any one man in the Parliament could know it, because of my maner of life, which was to run up and down the Nation, and so might see and know the temper and spirits of all men, the best of men) that the Nation loathed their sitting: I knew it. And so farre as *I* could discern, when they were dissolved, there was not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general and visible repining at it. You are not a few here present that can asserf this as well as my self.

And that there was high cause for their Dissolving, is most evident, not onely in regard there was a just fear of the Parliaments perpetuating themselves; but because it was their designe. And had not their heeles been trod upon by importunities from abroad, even to threats, *I* believe there would never have been thoughts of Rising, or of going out of that Roome to the worlds end.

*I* my selfe was founded; and by no mean persons tempted; and addressses were made to me to that very end, that it might have been thus perpetuated, That the vacant places might be supplied by new Elections, and so continue from Generation to Generation.

*I* have declined, *I* have declined very much, to open these things to you: yet having proceeded thus farre, *I* must tell you, that poor men under this Arbitrary Power, were driven like flocks of sheep, by fourty in a morning, to the Confiscation of Goods, and Estates, without any man being able to give a reason that two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling. *I* tell you the truth, and my soul, and many persons whose faces *I* see in this place were exceedingly grieved at these things: and knew not which way to help it, but by their mournings, and giving their negatives when occasions served.

*I* have given you but a taste of miscarriages. *I* am confident you have had opportunities to hear much more of them: for

nothing is more obvious. It's true, this will be said, That there was a remedy to put an end to this perpetual Parliament endeavoured, by having a future Representative. How it was gotten, and by what importunities that was obtained, and how unwillingly yielded unto, is well known.

What was this remedy? It was a seeming willingnesse to have successive Parliaments. What was that Succession? it was, that when one Parliament had left their Seat, another was to sit down immediately in the roome thereof, without any Caution to avoid that which was the danger; (*viz.*) Perpetuating of the same Parliaments; which is a sore now that will ever be running, so long as men are ambitious and troublesome, if a due remedy be not found. So then, What was the businesse? It was a Conversion from a Parliament that should have been, and was perpetuall, to a Legislative Power always sitting: & so the Liberties, and Interests, and Lives of People, not judged by any certain known Lawes and Power, but by an Arbitrary Power, which is incident and necessary

cessary to Parliaments by an Arbitrary Power : I say, to make mens estates liable to confiscation, and their persons to imprisonments ; sometimes by Lawes made after the fact committed : often by taking the judgement both in capital and criminal things to themselves, who in former times were not known to exercise such a Judicature.

This I suppose was the case ; and in my opinion the remedy was fitted to the disease : especially coming in the Reare of a Parliament, so exercising the Power and Authority as this had done, but immediately before.

Truly, I confesse upon these grounds, and with the satisfaction of divers other Persons, seeing nothing could be had otherwise ; that Parliament was dissolv'd, we desiring to see if a few might have been call'd together for some short time, who might put the Nation into some way of certain settlement, did call those Gentlemen out of the severall parts of the Nation for that purpose.

And, as I have appealed to God before you already, I know (and I hope I may say it,) though



though it be a tender thing to make appeals to God; yet in such exigencies as these, I trust it will not offend his Majesty, especially to make them before Persons that know God, and know what Conscience is, and what it is to lie before the Lord. I say, that as a principal end in calling that Assembly, was the settlement of the Nation; so a chief end to my selfe was, That I might have opportunity to lay down the Power that was in my hands I say to you again, in the presence of that God, who hath blessed and been with me in all my adversities and successes, that was as to my self my greatest end. A desire perhaps, (and I am afraid) sinful enough, to be quit of the Power God had most Providentially put into my hand, before he called for it; and before those honest ends of our fighting were attained and settled. I say, the Authority I had in my hand, being so boundlesse as it was, I being by Act of Parliament General of all the forces in the three Nations of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, (In which unlimited condition I did not desire to live a day,) did call  
that

that meeting for the ends before expressed.

What the event and issue of that meeting was, we may sadly remember : It hath much teaching in it ; and I hope will make us all wiser for the future.

But this meeting succeeding, as I have formerly said to you, and giving such a disappointment to our hopes, I shall not now make any repetition thereof ; only the effect was, That they came and brought to me a parchment signed by very much the major part of them, expressing their resigning and re-delivery of the Power and Authority that was committed to them, back again into my hands : And I can say it in the presence of divers persons here, that do know whether I lie in that, that I did not know one tittle of that resignation, until they all came and brought it, and delivered it into my hands : of this there are also in this presence many Witnesses.

I received this Resignation, having formerly used my endeavours and perswasions to keep them together ; observing their differences, I thought it my duty to give advices

to

to them , that so I might prevail with them for union : But it had the effect that I told you: and I had my disappointment.

When this was so , we were exceedingly to seek how to settle things for the future. My power again by this Resignation , was as boundlesse and unlimited as before ; all things being subjected to Arbitrariness , and a person having power over the three Nations boundlessly , and unlimited ; And upon the matter all Government dissolved, all Civill Administrations at an end ; as will presently be made appear.

The Gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government, did consult divers dayes together , ( they being of known Integrity, and ability ) how to frame somewhat that might give us settlement; and they did so: and that I was not privy to their Councils, they know it.

When they had finished their model

dell in some measure, or made a very good preparation of it, it became Communicative. They told me that except I would undertake the Government, they thought things would hardly come to a Composure, and Settlement; but blood and confusion would break in upon us. I denied it again, and again, as God and those persons know, not complementingly as they also know, and as God knowes.

I confesse, after many Arguments, and after the letting of me know that I did not receive anything that put me into any higher Capacity then I was in before, but that it limited me, and bound my hands to act nothing to the prejudice of the Nations, without consent of a Councell untill the Parliament; and then limited by the Parliament, as the Act of Government expresseth, I did accept it.

I might repeat this again to you, if it were needfull, but I think I need not. I was arbitrary in Power, having the



Armies in the three Nations under my command: and truly not very ill beloved by them; nor very ill beloved then by the people, by the good People; and I beleive I should have bin more beloved if they had known the truth, as things were before God, and in themselves; and before divers of these Gentlemen whom I but now mentioned unto you.

I did, at the intreaty of divers persons of honor and quality; at the intreaty of very many of the chief Officers of the Army then present, and at their request, I did accept of the place, and title of Protector, and was in the presence of the Commissioners of the Seal, the Judges, the Lord Major and Aldermen of the City of London, the Souldierie, divers Gentlemen, Citizens, and divers other people, and persons of quality, &c. accompanied to Westminster-Hall, where I took my oath to this Government. This was not done in a corner: it was open and publick.

This Government hath bin exercised by a Councell, with a desire to be faithfull in all things; and amongst all other trusts, to be faithfull in calling this Parliament.

And thus I have given you a very bare and leane discourse; which truly I have bin necessitated unto, and contracted in, because of the unexpectedness of the occasion; and because I would not quite wearie you, nor my self. But this is a Narrative that discovers to you the Series of Providence, and of Transactions leading me into this Condition wherein I now stand.

The next thing I promised you, wherein I hope I shall not be so long, (though I am sure this occasion does require plainenesse and freedom,) is, That as I brought not my self into this Condition, (as in my own apprehension I did not; and that I did not, (the things being true which I have told you) I submit it to your Judgements

ments, and there shall I leave it, let God do what he pleaseth.) The other things I say that I am to speak to you of, is, That I have not, nor do not bear witness to my self. I am far from alluding to him that said so; yet truth concerning a member of his, hee will own, though men do not.

But I think (if I mistake not) I have a cloud of witnesses. I think so; let men be as froward as they will. I have witness within, without, and above. But I shall speak of them that are without, having fully spoken before of the witness Above, and the witness in my own conscience, upon the other Account; because that subject had more obscurity in it, and I in some sort needed appeales; and I trust might lawfully make them, as well as take an oath where things were not so apt to be made evident. I shall enumerate my witnesses as well as I can.

VVhen I had consented to accept of  
the

the Government, there was some solemnity to be performed; and that was accompanied with some persons of considerableness in all respects; who were the persons before expressed; who accompanied me at the time of my entring upon this Government, to VVestminster - Hall to take my oath.

There was an explicite consent of Interested persons; and an implicate consent of many, shewing their good liking, and approbation thereof. And (Gentlemen) I do not think that you are altogether strangers to it, in your Country: some did not nauseate it; very many did approve it.

I had the approbation of the Officers of the Army in the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; I say of the Officers. I had that by their Remonstrances, and under signature; There was went along with that explicite consent, an implicate consent  
of



of persons that had somewhat to do in the World; that had been instrumentall by God, to fight down the enemies of God, and his people, in the three Nations. And truly, until my hands were bound, and I limited, (wherein I took full contentment, as many can bear me witness,) when I had in my hands so great a power and Arbitrariness, the Souldierie were a very considerable part of the Nations, especially all Government being dissolved. I say, when all Government was thus dissolved, and nothing to keep things in order but the Sword, and yet they (which many histories will not parallell) even they were desirous that things might come to a Consistencie, and Arbitrarines might be taken away, and the Government put into a person (limited and bounded, as in the Act of Settlement) whom they trusted the least, and loved not the worst. this was another evidence.

I would not forget the honourable and civill entertainment , with the approbation I found in the great City of *London* ; which the City knowes whether I directly or indirectly fought. And truly I do not think it is folly to remember this. For it was very great high, and publick; and as numerous a Body of those that are known by names, and titles, (the severall corporations , and societies of Citizens in this City,) as hath been at any time seen in *England*; and not without some appearance of satisfaction also.

I had not onely this witnesse , but I have had from the greatest County in *England*, and from many Cities, and Boroughs , and many Counties explicit Approbations; not of those gathered here , and there; but from the County of *York*, and City of *York*, and other Counties, and Places, Assembled in their publike, and generall Assizes,

Assizes, the Grand-Jury in the name of the Noble men, Gentlemen, Yeomen, and inhabitants of that County, giving very great thanks to me for undertaking this heavy Burthen, at such a time: and giving very great Approbation, and encouragement to me to go through with it. These are plain. I have them to shew, and by these in some measure it will appear, I do not bear witness to my self.

This is not all: the Judges, (and truly I had almost forgotten it) they thinking that there was a dissolution of Government, met, and consulted, and did declare one to another, that they could not administer Justice to the satisfaction of their consciences, untill they had received commissions from me. And they did receive commissions from me. And by vertue  
D of

of those Commissions they have acted. And all the Justices of the Peace, that have acted, have acted by vertue of like Commissions : which was a little more then an implicit Approbation. And I beleeeve all the Justice administred in the Nation, hath been by this Authority; which also I lay before you: desiring you to think whether all these Persons before mentioned must not come before you for an Act of Oblivion, and Generall Pardon, who have acted under, and testified to this Government, if it be disowned by you.

I have two or three witnesses more, equivalent to all these I have reckoned, if I be not mistaken, and greatly mistaken. If I should say, all you that are here, are my witnesses, I should say no untruth. I know you are the same persons here, that you were in the Country:



try: But I will reserve to speak to this at the last ; for this will be the issue of my speech. I say, I have two or three witnesses , that are more then all I have accounted, and reckoned before.

All the people in *England* are my witnesses : and many in *Ireland*, and *Scotland*. All the Sheriffes in *England* are my witnesses. And all that came in upon the Process issued out by the Sheriffes are my witnesses. Yea, the Returnes of the Elections to the Clerk of the Crown, not a thing to be blown away with a breath ; the Returnes on the behalf of the inhabitants in the Counties, Cities , and Boroughs, Al are my witnesses of approbation to the condition , and place I stand in.

And I shall now make you my last witnesses , and ask you whether you came not hither by my Writs , di-

rected to the severall Sheriffs ? and so to other Officers in Cities, and Liberties, to which the People gave obedience: having also had the Act of Government communicated to them: to which end greate Numbers of Copies were sent down, on purpose to be communicated to them; And the Government also required, to be distinctly read unto the People at the place of Elections, to avoid surprizes; where also they signed the Indenture, with proviso, That the persons so chosen shall not have power to alter the Government, as it is now settled; in one single Person and a Parliament.

And thus I have made good my second Assertion, That I bear not witnesse to my selfe; but the good people of *England*, and you all are my witnesses.

Yea, surely, And this being so,  
though

though I told you in my last speech, that you were a free Parliament; yet I thought it was understood, that I was the Protector, and the Authority that called you, and that I was in possession of the Government by a good Right from God and men. And I believe, if the learnedst men in this Nation were called to shew a President so clear, so many wayes approving of a Government; they would not in all their search finde it.

I did not in my other speech to you take upon me to justifie the Government in every particular; and I told you the reason of it; which was plain. It was publick; and had been long published; and it might be under the most serious inspection of all that pleased to peruse it.

By what I have said, I have approved my self to God, and my

my conscience , in my actions ;  
and in this undertaking. And  
I have given cause of approving  
my selfe to every one of your  
consciences in the sight of  
God.

If it be so , why should we  
sport with it ? with a businesse  
thus serious ? May not this  
Character, this stamp , bear equall  
Poyze with any hereditary In-  
terest , which may have , and  
hath had , in the common Law ,  
matters of Dispute , and Try-  
all of learning ? wherein ma-  
ny have exercised more Wit , and  
spilt more blood , then I hope  
ever to live to see , or hear of in  
this Nation.

I say, I do not know why I may  
not balance this providence, as in  
the sight of God , with any heredi-  
tary Interest , as being lesse subject  
to those Crackes , and Flaws , they  
are



are commonly incident unto;  
Which Titles have cost more blood,  
in former times, in this Nation,  
then wee have leisure to speake of  
now.

Now if this be thus, and I am  
deriving a Title from God and  
men, upon such Accounts as  
these are: Although some men  
be froward, yet that your Judg-  
ments, that are Persons sent  
from all parts of the Na-  
tion, under the Notion of ac-  
ceptance of the Government,  
for you to disowne, or not  
to owne it; for you to act  
Parliamentary Authority, espe-  
cially in the disowning of it,  
contrary to the very fundamen-  
tall things; yea, against the  
very root it selfe of this Estab-  
lishment; to sit and not owne  
the Authority by which you  
sit, is that that I believe asto-  
nisheth.

niſherh more men then my ſelfe; and doth as dangerously diſappoint, and diſcompoſe the Nation, as any thing could have beene invented by the greateſt Enemie to our peace and welfare; or could well have happened.

It is true, there are ſome things in the Eſtabliſhment, that are fundamental: and ſome things are not ſo, but are Circumſtantial. Of ſuch, no queſtion but I ſhall eaſily agree to vary, or leave out, as I ſhall be convinced by reaſon. Some things are Fundamentals, about which I ſhall deale plainly with you, they may not be parted with; but will (I truſt) be delivered over to Poſterity, as being the fruits of our Blood and Travel.

The

The Government by a single Person and a Parliament, is a Fundamentall ; It is the *Esse*. It is Constitutive. And for the Person, though I may seem to plead for my self, yet I doe not, no nor can any reasonable man say it. But if the things throughout this Speech be true, I plead for this Nation, and all honest men therein, who have borne their Testimony, as afore-said, and not for my self. And if things should doe otherwise, then well, which I would not fear, and the Common Enemy, and discontented Persons, take Advantage at these Distractions, the issue will be put up before God. Let him own, or let him disown it, as he please.

In every Government there must be somewhat Fundamental, somewhat like a *Magna Charta*, that should be standing, and be unalterable. Where there is a Stipulation on one Part, and that fully accepted, as appears by what hath been said ; surely a Return ought to be : else what does that Stipulation signifie ? If I have upon the

E

Terms

Terms afore-said undertaken this great Trust, and Exercised it, and by it called you, surely it ought to be owned.

That Parliaments should not make themselves Perpetual, is a Fundamentall. Of what Assurance is a Law to prevent so great an evil, if it lie in one or the same Legislator to unlaw it again ? Is this like to be lasting ? It will be like a Rope of Sand; it will give no Security. For the same men may unbuild, what they have built.

Is not Liberty of Conscience in Religion a Fundamentall ? so long as there is Liberty of Conscience for the Supreme Magistrate, to exercise his Conscience in erecting what Form of Church-Government he is satisfied, he should set up ; why should not he give it to others ? Liberty of Conscience is a Naturall Right : and he that would have it ought to give it ; having Liberty to settle what he likes for the Publick.

Indeed that hath been one of the Vanities



ries of our Contests. Every Sect saith, Oh! Give me Liberty, But give him it, and to his Power he will not yeeld it to any Body else. Where is our Ingenuity? Truly that's a thing ought to be very Reciprocal. The Magistrate hath his Supremacy, and he may settle Religion according to his Conscience. And I may say it to you: I can say it; all the Money of this Nation, would not have tempted men to fight, upon such an Account as they have engaged, if they had not had Hopes of Liberty, better then they had from Episcopacy; or then would have been afforded them, from a Scottish Presbytery, or an English either; if it had made such steps, or been as sharp, and Rigid, as it threatned when it was first set up.

This, I say, is a Fundamentall. It ought to be so: it is for us, and the Generations to come. And if there be an absolute-nesse in the Imposer, without fitting allowances, and Exceptions from the Rule, we shall have our People driven into Wil-

derneſſes; as they were when thoſe poor, and afflicted People, that forſook their Eſtates, and Inheritances here, where they lived Plentifully and Comfortably, for the Enjoyment of their Liberty, and were neceſſitated to goe into a vaſt howling Wilderneſſe in *New England*, where they have for Liberty ſake ſtrippt themſelves of all their Comfort, and the full Enjoyment they had, embracing rather loſſe of Friends, and want, then to be ſo enſnared, and in Bondage.

Another, which I had forgotten, is the *Militia*, that's Judged a Fundamentall, if any thing be ſo. That it ſhould be well and equally placed, is very neceſſary. For put the Absolute Power of the *Militia* into One without a Check, what doth it? I pray you, what doth your Check put upon your Perpetuall Parliaments, if it be wholly ſtrippt of this? It is equally Placed, and Deſires were to have it ſo (*viz.*) in one Perſon, and the Parliament, ſitting the Parliament. What ſignifies a Provision againſt perpetuating

perpetuating of Parliaments, if this be solely in them? Whether without a Check the Parliament have not Liberty to alter the Frame of Government, to Aristocrasie, to Democrasie, to Anarchy, to any Thing, if this be fully in them? Yea into all Confusion, and that without Remedy? And if this one Thing be placed in One, that One, be it Parliament, be it Supream Governour, They, or He hath Power to make what they please of all the rest.

Therefore, if you would have a Balance at all; and that some Fundamentals must stand, which may be worthy to be delivered over to Posterity; truly, I think, it is not unreasonably urged, That the *Militia* should be disposed, as it is laid down in the Government; and that it should be so equally placed, that one Person, neither in Parliament, nor out of Parliament, should have the Power of Ordering it. The Councill are the Trustees of the Commonwealth, in all Intervals of Parliaments; who have as Absolute a Negative upon the Su-



pream Officer in the said Intervalls, as the Parliament hath whilst it is sitting. It cannot be made use of : a man cannot be raised; nor a penny charged upon the People; nothing done without Consent of Parliament. and in the Intervalls of Parliament, without Consent of the Council, it is not to be exercised.

Give me leave to say, That there is very little Power, none but what is Coordinate, in the Supream Officer; and yet enough in him that hath the Chief Government, in that particular, he is bound in strictnesse by the Parliament, out of Parliament by the Councell, that doe as absolutely binde him, as the Parliament, when the Parliament is sitting.

For that of Money; I told you some things are Circumstantial. To have two hundred thousand pounds, to Defray Civil Officers, to pay the Judges, and other Officers, defraying the Charges of the Councell, in sending their Embassies, in keeping Intelligence, and doing that that's necessary, and



and for supporting the Governour in Chief: All this is by the Instrument supposed and intended: But it is not of the *Esse* so much, and so limited, as so many Souldiers, 30000, twenty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse. If the Spirits of men be composed five thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot, may serve. These things are between the Chief Officer, and the Parliament, to be moderated, as occasion shall offer.

So there are many other Circumstantiall things, which are not like the Lawes of the *Medes* and *Persians*: But the things which shall be necessary to deliver over to Posterity, these should be unalterable, else every succeeding Parliament, will be disputing to Change, and alter the Government, and we shall be as often brought into Confusion, as we have Parliaments, and so make our Remedy our Disease. The Lords providence, appearing Evils, appearing Good, and better Judgement, will give occasion for the ordering of things, for the best Interest.

terest of the People. And those things are the Matter of Consideration between you and me.

I have indeed almost tired my self. That that I have further to say, is this, I would it had not been needfull for me to have called you hither to have expostulated these things with you, and in such a manner as this is : But Necessity hath no Law. Feigned Necessities, imaginary Necessities are the greatest Couzenage that men can put upon the Providence of God, and make pretences to break known Rules by. But it is as Legall, and as Carnall, and as Stupid, to think that there are no Necessities, that are manifest Necessities : Because Necessities may be abused or feigned. And truly I should be so, if I should thinke so, and I hope none of you thinke so.

I say, That the wilfull throwings away of this Government, such as it is, so owned by God, so approved by men, so testified to, in the Fundamentals of it, as is before-

fore mentioned, and that in Relation to the Good of these Nations, and Posterity; I can sooner be willing to be Rolled into my Grave, and Buried with Infamy, then I can give my Consent unto.

You have been called hither together to save a Nation; --- Nations. You had the best People indeed in the Christian World in your Trust, when you came hither. You had Affaires, and these Nations delivered over to you in Peace and Quiennesse: You were, and we all were put into an uninterrupted Possession, no body making Title to us. Through the Blessing of God our Enemies were hopelesse and scattered. We had Peace at home: Peace almost with all Neighbours round about: fit to take Advantages where God did administer them.

To have our Peace and Interest, that had those hopes the other day, thus shaken, and under such a Confusion; and wee rendered hereby (almost) the Scorn and Contempt of those Strangers that are amongst us, to Negotiate their Masters Affaires;

F

To



To give them Opportunity to see our Nakednesse, as they doe, a People that have been unhinged this Twelve Yeares day, and unhinged still; as if Scattering, Division, and Confusion should come upon us (as if it were desired) which are the greatest Plagues God ordinarily layes upon Nations for sinne: I would be loath to say, they are Matters of our Delight: But if not, Why not the Matter of our Care, so wisely as we ought by uttermost Endeavours to avoid? Nay, when by such Actions, as these are, these poor Nations shall be thrown into heapes of Confusion, through Bloud, and Ruine, and Trouble, upon the saddest Account that ever was, if breaking should come upon us, and all because we would not settle when we might; when God put it into our Hands: Your Affairs now almost settled every where: And to have all Recoyle upon us, and we our selves shaken in our Affections, loosened from all Knowne and publick Interests, as I have mentioned to you:



you : Who shall answer for these things to God ? Who can answer for these things to God, or to Men ? To the People that sent you hither ? Who lookt for refreshment from you ; who lookt for nothing but Peace, and Quietnesse, and Rest, and Settlement. And when we shall come to give an Accompt to them, we shall be able to say ; Oh ! we have quarrelled for, and we contested for the Liberty of *England*, Wherein forsooth for the Liberty of the People ? I appeale to the Lord, that the Desires and Endeavours, and the things themselves will speak for themselves : That the Liberty of *England* ; The Liberty of the People ; The avoiding of Tyrannous Impositions, either upon Men as Men, or Christians as Christians, is made so safe by this Act of Settlement, that it will speak sufficiently for it self.

And when it shall appear what hath been said, and done ; and what our Transactions have been : For God can discover, and no Priviledge will hinder the Lord from discovering, no Priviledge

or Condition of men can hide from the Lord : He can, and will make all manifest, if he see it for his Glory. And when these shall by the Providence of God be manifested, and the People shall come and say, Gentlemen, What Condition are we in ? We hoped for Light, and behold Darknesse obscure Darknesse ! We hoped for Rest, after ten Years Civil Wars : We are plunged into deep Confusion again, I, we know these Consequences will come upon us, if God Almighty shall not finde out some way to prevent them.

I had this thought within myself, That it had not been Dishonest, nor Dishonourable, nor against true Liberty, no not of Parliaments ; when a Parliament was so Chosen, in Pursuance of, in Conformity to, and with such an Approbation, and Consent to the Government, so that he that runnes might reade by what Authority you came hither : That an owning of your Call, and of the Authority bringing you hither, might have been requi-

(41)

required before your Entrance into the House,

But this was declined, and hath not been done, because I am perswaded scarce any man could reasonably doubt you came with contrary Mindes. And I have reason to beleieve, the People that sent You, least doubted thereof at all. And therefore I must deal plainly with You. What I forbore upon a just Confidence at first, You necessitate me unto now,---That seeing the Authority calling You is so little valued, and so much slighted, Till some such Assurance be given, and made known; That the Fundamentall Interest of the Government, be Settled, and Approved, according to the Proviso contained in the Return; and such a Consent testified, as will make it appear, that the same is accepted, I have caused a stop to be put to your Entrance into the Parliament House.

I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the Death, that there is Cause for this. But there is Cause. And if things

be not Satisfied, that are reasonably Demanded. I for my part shall do that that becomes me, seeking my Councell from God.

There is therefore somewhat to be offered to you, that I hope will (being understood with the Qualifications that I have told you of: Reforming Circumstantials, and Agreeing in the Substance and Fundamentals (which is, the Government Setled, as it is expressed in the Indenture) not to be altered; The making of your mindes known in that, by giving your Assent and Subscription to it; is that, that will) let you in, to Act those things as a Parliament, which are for the good of the People. And this thing shewed to you, and Signed, as afore-said, doth Determine the Controversie; and may give a happy Progressse, and Issue to this Parliament.

The Place where you may come thus, and Sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in the Lobby without the Parliament door.

The



The Government doth declare, that you have a Legislative Power without a Negative from me. As the Government doth expresse, you may make any Laws; and if I give not my Consent within twenty dayes, to the Passing your Lawes, they are *ipso facto* Laws, whether I consent, or no, if not contrary to the Government. You have an Absolute Legislative Power in all things that can possibly concern the Good, and Interest of the Publike. And I think you may make these Nations happy by this Settlement: And I for my part shall be willing to be bound more then I am, in any thing that I may be convinced of, may be for the Good of the People; In Preservation of the Cause and Interest so long contended for.

F I N I S.

(44)

The Government doth declare, that you  
 have a Legislative Power without a Negative  
 from me. As the Government doth express,  
 you may make any Laws, and I give not my  
 consent within twenty days, to the passing  
 your Laws, they are of the Law, whether  
 I consent or no, it is not contrary to the Go-  
 vernment. You have an Absolute Legisla-  
 tive Power in all things that can possibly con-  
 cern the Good, and interest of the Publick.  
 And I think you may make these Nations hap-  
 py by this settlement; And I for my part shall  
 be willing to be bound more than I am, to any  
 thing that I may be convinced of, may be for  
 the Good of the People; In Prolongation of  
 the Cause and interest so long contended for.

F I N I S

 1154  
 1154  
 1154